states that it was a word for "wife, family, wife and children." *Utare* then probably meant "a man of the same kinsfolk," "a man of the same village," or "a man who was equal," and when the suffix was changed the word took on the connotation of "belonging to" and came to mean a servant or retinue of servants.[53] It may have become a word to denote those who became members of the village through possession for there were those who had become village residents through capture in war. On the other hand, there were those who had been born in the village and, unable to support themselves, had been taken into the custody of those with wealth. The *Watarishima Hikki* states: "Although there were men who could not support themselves and became dependents of the chiefs, they were called *Utare* and the word 'slave' was never used." Therefore, while their position was low there was no difference in the work they did as compared with the other members of the village. In later years as the wealth and position of the masters increased these *Utare* came to be bought and sold.[54] And no doubt among these *Utare* were relatives who had been unable to support themselves. There also existed a class of *"Usshiu"* usually held to be a class under the servants but probably this was another name for the *Utare*.[55]

Families with wives and slaves had the best chance of obtaining wealth, but that family with the best chance of obtaining wives and slaves was the head family. Slaves who came into a village as the result of capture, sales or trade, came under the jurisdiction of the chief who managed the communal property. It was also his duty to support those in need as though they were of his family, as well as to look after the widows of men from his group (it is illogical to speak of his "marriage" to the widows who became his "wives"). The right of the adjudication of communal property, the possession of "slaves," and the large number of "wives" made for a great difference in wealth between the family of the chief and the other families of the village. The chief's family simply had the largest available labor force; yet no sense of economic class resulted from this difference. For, while the chief was free to do as he pleased with his wealth, he was also obligated to the endless protection of his village. In this sense the wealth of a chief was common property and the chief merely the supervisor of its distribution.

3. SOCIAL REGULATION

Originally Ainu society was maintained by taboos which had religious significance and there are many

[53] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 496 ff.

[54] In the diary of Kimura Shikyō under the date of July 10 we find that Mogami Tokunai bought and gave an *Utare* to his Ainu servant instead of a sword he had promised him as a reward. It is noted also in the *Kita Ezo Zusetsu* that there were people in Sōya and Karafuto who kidnapped lone persons and sold them in Manchuria.

[55] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 231, fn.

●784 Ainu traditions about these.[56] To the Ainu the injunctions and traditions handed down from their ancestors were not to be violated and the chief of the village saw to it that they were maintained. Violations were punished in a manner that it was believed would appease the fury of God since it was held that the culprit already was undergoing a spiritual punishment. Those records which have been left concerning the punitive measures of the Ainu are limited to those which lay in the actual power of society to mete out and they do not bear on the important concept of punishment by God (for they believed that the violators of God's taboos were sufficiently punished by God himself and society did not interfere with this divine judgment but remedied only that which concerned itself). But as time passed the power of the taboo receded and the Ainu, in order to regulate their increasingly complex society adopted the same punishments for culprits that the Japanese practiced.

674 [192] 627 [696] The word "crime" in the Ainu language is either *Katopaku* ["to commit an offense which ought to be punished"] or *Uenburi* ["bad conduct"] and it seems that there existed no difference between a violation of the village law and a violation of religious morals. Therefore, penalty was imposed equally on all violations. Judgment of crime was sometimes made by mysterious means. There was the method of consulting the oracular wisdom of the maiden of a shrine[57] 695 [787] who was called *Tsusuguru* [a prophetress]. Judgments similar to the ancient Japanese *Kugatachi* wherein the accused takes a stone from boiling water with his bare hands were used and there was the judgment whereby bamboo grass was laid across the palm of the hand of the accused and atop the grass a red-hot stone or iron was placed. In the latter two methods any injury sustained by the accused was evidence of his guilt. The above were all practices in which it was considered that the judgment of God was being rendered. Torture was also used. The accused could be forced to down with one breath a large bowl of water. There was the tobacco torture which was chiefly used by women; there was the *Nitemere* [to stretch the arms] in which the accused was left with both arms outstretched and tied to a post; there was a combination of torture and religious ritual wherein the accused first drained a cup of water then the empty cup was placed atop his head. If he neither fell down nor the cup fell off his head he was set free.[58]

683 Quarrels between two parties were resolved by debate. This was called *Charanke* [to argue] and if the winner could not be determined the debate continued furiously until one of the two collapsed. It has been said that, "If neither of the parties submitted to the

[56] Itō Yūichi, Hokubo minzoku no horitsu shisō oyobi kanshu (Customs and concepts of law in the North), *Shihō Kenkyū*, 17th ed., 26 ff.
[57] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, 284.
[58] *Ibid.*, 242-243.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long before I became aware that he had lost the points of two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Nevertheless, both members festered and would not heal for a long time. But in the end, although they got better, I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added, "The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of courage and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake kind. Whenever we were travelling together along narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always wished me to walk in front to scare away these vermin. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore thick boots through which no snake could bite. At night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

"The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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"Oh no," said he, "not that; but as he has a new baby, he has to be very quiet for a time." "Well," I said, "that seems to me to be very funny. He ought really to be looking very spry and happy, but there he is as far down in the doldrums as it is possible for him to be. Why should he pretend to be ill?" 846

Said Penri, "Ah, you don't understand. He is following an old custom."

"What custom is it?" I asked, and he replied,

"As soon as it is definitely known that a baby is to be born, the prospective mother calls her husband and parents, tells them the happy news, and then makes them a feast. This ceremony is called *hon-e-inono-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the stomach." During the feast the two men make many fetishes of willow and offer them to the goddess of fire with much prayer, especially requesting that all may go on well. Then, when the birth has taken place, the father is sometimes called upon to stay at home wrapped up by the fire, as you saw, or to leave the house and go to stay with some friends for a time and keep very quiet as though he were ill for six days. He must stay in the hut all the time and rest by the fireside. This is called *yainunuke*, i.e. 'taking good care of oneself.'" And surely that is what I saw my friend doing, only he looked very miserable over it. 842 846 844 846

"When a child is six days old," said the chief, "there is a function held called *po-e-inonne-itak*, i.e. "prayer for the child." On this occasion a small feast is prepared, of which the father, mother and grandparents only partake. At this time many fetishes are made and presented to the west-end doorway, one of whose special provinces it appears to be to watch over the birth and early years of children." I should have remarked above that during child-birth no man soever may be rightly allowed to come into or go out of a house by the west doorway. When necessary to go in or out, and should there be no door in the south wall, 852 [784 844]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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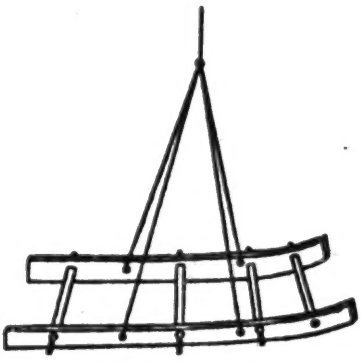
the sacred east end window must be broken down and an entrance made there.

Continuing, the Chief said, "On the morning of the seventh day the man may *shothi chupu*, i.e. "fold up the bed." On this day he returns to his own home. Yet even here he must abide for another six days. During the first period of six days he must not drink *sake* or worship the gods. This is out of special reverence to the supreme powers. And during the last six days he must not *ikutasa*, i.e. "have friends in for a drunken carouse"; nor must he go fishing or hunting. But he may eat, drink, worship, make fetishes and be very merry quietly by himself just as he pleases."



AN AINU CRADLE

"But," said I, "why should the Ainu men be so particular about resting when a child is born. I should have thought that it was the wife who needed the rest." I then gathered from him that his people suppose the body and animal life of their children to be in great measure, if not exclusively, from their mothers, while the life of the spirit and intellect comes from their fathers. The life of the body is imparted by the mother gradually from the time of conception until

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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755 278 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Kousas Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

114 784 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu hotu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them.

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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out to sea. Those represented by the images were then to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to take these things, but the chief would not allow me to touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among these people, and I found it always necessary to walk warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very much feared by this people, both men and women worship them on occasion. Not only are they made objects of divine worship, but they are also used in divination. And although they are said to have a special spite against women, and are ever seeking to possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some women who actually keep snake skins as special charms and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman, and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would, upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got into his granary, an account of which has already been given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great compliment and killed many of these creatures for them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for, said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all troubles connected with childbirth, and the only certain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was undoubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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ed doctrine of there being six worlds beneath us. Beyond mentioning the fact that six is the Ainu 'perfect number,' I cannot tell how the people reconcile the two, for I have never yet heard it satisfactorily explained, though explanation there probably is somewhere, could one but find it. The legend is as follows:— 772

"The place in which we men dwell is called by three names. First, the most common is *Kamu Moshiri*, i.e. 'The upper world'; and then *Uare Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which to multiply; and lastly, *Uwekari Uotereke Moshiri*, i.e. 'The world in which the multitudes trample one another's feet.' It is the upper world because there is another world under foot. This is a very damp place and when the wicked die they go there to be punished. But by the side of this place there is another locality which is *Kamui Moshiri*, i.e. 'The Land of the Gods.' It is to this place that good people go at death. They live there with the deities and walk about upside down, after the manner of flies, so that their feet meet ours. 539 773

"When it is day upon this earth, it is night in heaven, and when it is daylight there, it is dark here. Now, when it is dark in this world, men should neither do any work, trim one another's hair, nor cut their beards, for at such times the deities and souls of men are busy in their own spheres. If, therefore, the inhabitants of this our upper world work during the hours of darkness, they will be punished with sickness and meet with an early death." The Ainu religion is in this respect a truly daylight-saving scheme. [827] [784] [461]

This myth shows very clearly that the Ainu believe the soul to exist apart from the present material body after death. It goes to Hades, in which place both heaven and Gehenna are situated. 774 775

A man once told me of a dream in which the soul of a deceased chief appeared to him and said, 828

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.[1]

[1] There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *petorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was,
[782] strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an
[845] exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was slyly called
[755] true-lore talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's
782 head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed
784 ritually.
263 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
192 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).

226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it
[477] early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kathimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.[1] A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

[1] According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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partly washed off with the hot infusion; soot from the pot bottom was gently rubbed in, and a cloth, usually black, was dipped in the infusion and dabbed on the wound. At the same time a form of words *pash chi-yai, roshki, roshki, pash ren-ren* (soot enclosed remain, soot sink in, sink in) was repeated several, usually three, times as a spell.

The black colour of the cloth and the darkness of the infusion may have magical properties, for the Ainu know that neither the black dye of the Japanese cotton cloth nor the bark infusion could affect the colour of the tattooing to any extent.

Whether the avoidance of tattooing during menstruation was a taboo or was based on greater sensitiveness and liability to inflammation at that period is uncertain. Those being tattooed had to abstain from flesh and fat, live on water for two or three days and vegetable food for a week and remain in the house for at least a week; my aged informants, never secretive about their beliefs, regarded these merely as wise precautions to hasten healing. There was often so much swelling of the lips after extensive tattooing that eating and speaking were prevented for some days. It was rare that there was sufficient inflammation of the arms to discharge the pigment, but the scars were indelible.

The Ainu regarded tattooing not merely as beautiful but as emphasizing group solidarity and communion with their great spirit ancestress, Kamui Fuchi, whose soot protects them against the evil spirits which, though invisible, are always near.

In the southern districts tattooing has been abandoned by general consent within the last thirty or forty years. In the northern province of Kitami it was abandoned earlier, and there old women of 70 may be seen without it or with but a tiny spot on the edge of the upper lip.

Drugs and Medicines

The usual name for aconite is *suruku*, which may mean 'great bow poison'. In prayer it is called Monorushi Kamui,[1] the meaning of which is uncertain. It is a feminine *kamui* susceptible to flattery

[1] In the Saru Basin this *kamui* is said to be the head of the aconite spirits, and to have resided on the top of a sacred mountain near Piratori. The headman of Piratori village controlled the collection of the aconite which grew on the mountain, and which was highly prized as being extremely poisonous. The granting by him of permission to collect was accompanied by a *kamui-nomi* ritual and

/763 cont./

843 562 Even during pregnancy the woman enjoys a certain amount of attention and care. I was able to observe that they showed indulgence towards a pregnant woman, that they helped her at work and quietly permitted her idleness and longer sleep.

843 Among the advice to pregnant women especially noteworthy is the rule that recommends that they move around a lot. In this way the fetus is supposed to remain small and the parturition to proceed quickly and without special pains. The closer the moment of delivery, the more exercise the woman is to take. If she sits around much during her pregnancy the fetus becomes too large and the mother suffers several days before the birth is over.

732 843 825 A pregnant woman may not eat lobster since the child will then have a hare-lip. She may not eat the flesh of birds either because the child might then be born with squinting eyes which move like those of a bird. In this manner they explained to me a case of hare-lip of a woman in the village Nayero and of two crosseyed brothers in the village of Takoe.

843 784 283 286 Two months before birth a pregnant woman may neither spin nor wind string (from nettle fibres) because the entrails of the child might then get entangled like string. The same can also happen if the woman should want to twist wool.

844 Birth—During the birth a woman does not leave the house but remains in her usual place at the fire. All children, young people, and sometimes also grown-up men, on the other hand, are chased out of the yurt. For they hold the belief that a great number of spectators increases the pains of the woman, and they also consider quiet as very desirable. In order not to dirty the floor they cover the spot where the sick woman is to lie with twigs of fir and pine. They also give her a support of old clothes and a mat woven out of grass. The woman lies down on her right or left /764/ side with a belt clasped lightly around her, which is made of some kind of material, but not of nettle fibres since these are too hard. When the weather is cold the woman keeps her boots on but in the contrary case this is not necessary.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds 226 with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu, kimun iworu*.

782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*, 796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every [431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first [574] fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

226 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female • 784 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds 562 than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

796 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen[43]. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

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Hence the great sanctity in which the window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." (KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9). The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11).

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar (NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

(61) Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs. 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7-8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yukar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement (YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62).

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash-heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river-mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 45 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

(62) Social aspect of the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.